PITT's

UNION.

"Up men—be valiant" THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The King's chief Counsellor came forth cloth'd in Orange, and returned bound and in Sackcloth. THE AUTHOR.

—DUBLIN:—

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PITT'S

UNION.

WHILST the public mind has been buſily employed in diſcuſſing the merits and demerits of an incorporate Union of the Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures, I have hitherto remained a calm obſerver from an idea that the meaſure would not be preſſed, but finding that not likely to be the caſe, I can no longer continue ſilent. The ſubject has been ſo very copiouſly and ably handled, that little is left to be ſaid, however, as there are ſome few objections which appear to me very material not yet inſiſted on by thoſe who have given their opinion, I ſhall

proceed to ſtate them as briefly as the nature of the caſe will permit.

At firſt ſight an inveſtigation of this ſubject previous to the diſcloſure of the Articles may appear extraordinary; the want of the ſpecific conditions has been ſupplied, however, by the publication of a Pamphlet, ſaid to be the production of one of the Engliſh clerks belonging to the Caſtle, and my reaſons for believing him to be the Author, are founded upon the ignorance of the writer, appearing through every line of the work, and the inſolence of the language, in which the ſentiments are delivered.

As there can be no doubt that every benefit, that could poſſibly accrue from the Union to the Iriſh nation, has been ſet forth by the Engliſh painter in the moſt flattering colours, we may conclude *all* the advantages have been placed in a very conſpipuous point of view, whilſt *all* the evils have been ſkilfully kept in the back ground. Let us examine the benefits propoſed.

Without condeſcending to pay attention to the flattery, much leſs threats held out to the nation, as divided into ſects; we learn the

the advantages to the Proteſtant, to be, that the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment, one of the ſoreſt evils to the Proteſtant himſelf, is to be upheld, the Proteſtant Aſcendancy maintained, and that the number of his ſect taken imperially will be conſiderably encreaſed.

The advantage to the Diſſenters will ariſe from the circumſtance of there being a great number of Diſſenters in Great Britain.

And the Catholics are amuſed with a proſpect of (what he humouroufly terms) total Emancipation, and the poſſibility of gaining political power, through the channel of Proteſtant Aſcendancy, at a time when the monopoly of that power ſhall have been ſo conſiderably narrow'd, as nearly to exclude the whole Proteſtant body itſelf: and are not theſe cogent reaſons for an Union?

He next takes a geographical ſurvey of the Iſland, and informs the citizens of the metropolis, that Dublin will be the reſidence of a Viceroy, the ſeat of the revenue, and the head-quarters of the army; as if this was not the caſe already; but all commercial

cial improvement he defers, till canals are to be cut through the heart of the country, of which we may make ſome calculation by the time and money, heretofore beſtowed upon the one cut to the Barrow.

Ulſter is to be ſecured in a market for linens, and Munſter is inſtantly to riſe into opulence, *by the building of a dock-yard at Cork.*

* Of Connaught he is ſilent, that province being in his eyes either above or below all improvement.

Are not theſe weighty arguments in favour of an Union?

He next addreſſes himſelf to the intereſts of the nation, by falling foul of the Bar, and whilſt he endeavours to make himſelf popular, and utters the moſt foul libels on the Bar and Parliament, by repreſenting the former a ſet of unprincipled hirelings, and the latter a ſcandalous trade; the only ad-

* Perhaps the province of Connaught has been conſidered as wholly unworthy of the ſublime contemplation of an Engliſhman, as more purely Iriſh than any other part of the iſland; the Iriſh people having been tranſported to the other ſide of the Shannon by Oliver Cromwell, and left to grow there as chance might direct.

vantage

vantage he holds out to the people from the reformation of the law, is, *that juſtice will be adminiſtered after the Union as* AT PRESENT, which is a moſt conſolitary reflection, and a concluſive argument in favour of an Union.

As to our morals, it moves not my wonder, that the Author of the Pamphlet in queſtion, ſhould have painted them in the moſt hideous forms, when I conſider the company he has kept; we cannot be aſtoniſhed that the maſter of the ceremonies to ſpies and informers, the pot-companion of the redoubtable Dutton—the boſom friend of the immaculate Newell—the confidant of Mr. Bird—the ſworn friend of O'Brien, Magan, Hamilton, M'Aully, &c. &c. &c.—the panegyriſt of *citizen* Armſtrong and *governor* Reynolds—the marſhall of infamy ſhould repreſent the Iriſh people in the blackeſt colours. But be it remembered that he took not his drawing from the nature of Iriſhmen; from a knowledge of his own heart he deſigned the picture, from a view of what paſſed under his own eye, and his own direction, he drew the piece.

Good Heavens! learn morals from the mercantile part of England! men whoſe god

is gain, we may indeed learn to eat beef or bacon from them, had we ſuch commodities to put into our mouth, and we may learn from them to ſwig porter and ale, had we wherewith to buy theſe articles to quench our thirſt, which our gallant wooer will take eſpecial care ſhall never be the caſe, and as to manners, good breeding prevents an Iriſhman from making a compariſon.

With regard to the incorporations and Unions of other country's, as arguments drawn from diſtricts on the ſame Continent, do not apply to the preſent queſtion, little boots it to take up time in ſpeaking of them. In Scotland we find the neareſt reſemblance to our own ſituation but as no one can tell what the ſtate of that country would be at this day, had not the Union taken place, no parallel can be drawn.

As to the ſtory of the Roman lads and Sabine laſſes; kiſſing and friendſhip was certainly preferable to broken heads, and bloody noſes; but as that may be better compared to a quarrel at a fair or a pattern, no great ſtreſs in my mind can be laid upon it to maintain the neceſſity of an incorporate Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

For

For the general improvement of commerce and agriculture, we have but our Author's aſſertion, to counterbalance which there are two weighty arguments; the unvarying ill-treatment of England to Ireland, and the quarter from which the aſſertion comes.

Whilſt our Author is in a fanciful mood, he compares the Union to a partnerſhip in trade. "If," ſays he, "a merchant finding from circumſtances of ſituation, want of credit or capital, he cannot carry on his buſineſs alone with advantage, will he not be wiſe to unite himſelf, if poſſible, to an extenſive and wealthy firme, and to become a ſharer in proportion to his contribution of induſtry and capital, in the ſecure profits of an eſtabliſhed houſe;" which I will anſwer by putting another queſtion, firſt premiſing *all is not gold that gliſtens.* If a poor fellow, with only capital or credit ſufficient to drive a trade in rags, in the dirtieſt lane in Dublin, but who by the profits of that trade was able to ſupport himſelf and family, would he be wiſe to unite himſelf to an extenſive and faſhionable firme in Bond-ſtreet, London, which was to become bankrupt in a day or two.

Or to put another caſe, would it be wiſdom in a young man with a competence, to liſten to the preſſing and continual ſolicitations of an old, debauched, beſotted gambler, and notorious ſpendthrift, who had been borrowing every year upon uſurious contracts, and had been obliged to put his family on ſhort allowance for the four laſt years, would it, I ſay, be wiſdom in the former to enter into a partnerſhip with the latter, and embark his competence on ſuch a crazy bottom? In my mind I could never liken the Union with England to any thing but the marriage of a young good-natured poor Iriſh gentleman, to an old, emaciated, painted Engliſh bawd, by whom the poor fellow was inveigled with a promiſe of a large fortune but *unfortunately* after the indiſſoluble knot is tied poor Paddy finds himſelf diſappointed with a bag of bones a load of debt.

The Secretary having given many examples of the good effect of Unions; furniſhes one inſtance of the neceſſity of total ſeparation, how he came to ſtumble on it I own amazes me. The part of the hiſtory of the Spaniſh Netherlands to which he alludes is thus told. The Spaniſh Netherlands, under the

the government of the Duke of Alva, being grievouſly oppreſſed, humbly petitioned for a redreſs of grievances, and were anſwered by an addition of cruelties, which were ſo often repeated, in the ſhape of tenders, burnings, rapes, tortures, maſſacres, free-quarters, military butchery, and legalized ſlaughter, as to occaſion the people to unite as one man, determined to be free or periſh in the attempt; and God ſaw their work, and ſaw that it was good, and bleſſed it, and the people were triumphant, ſeparated from the Spaniſh tyranny, and ſpeedily roſe from an impoveriſhed, abject, and inſulted province, to the rank of an opulent and powerful nation—and the Secretary approves the *ſeparation*; but what makes his mentioning of this circumſtance the more extraordinary is, that all the diſciples of Pythagoras now on earth, are agreed that the ſoul of that identical Duke of Alva in its tranſmigration has taken up its abode in the body of William Pitt.

He next proceeds to give us an idea of his deep ſkill in the arts of government, and logic, and in diſcribing a firm and ſteady adminiſtration, *ſuch as the Iriſh adminiſtration for theſe laſt twenty years*, wherein he has been

an underling, though he affirms "that it "tended to the increaſe of the nation in "population, its advancement in agriculture, "in manufacturers, in wealth and proſpe-"rity, in a degree unknown to the world "before;" yet does he acknowledge "that "all her acceſſion of proſperity has been "of no avail," he ſays, "diſcontent has "kept pace with our improvement, diſcord "grown up with our wealth, conſpiracy and "rebellion have ſhot up with our proſperity."

In pity for him, and *juſtice to the people*, I will endeavour to ſolve the enigma by the explanation of the monoſyllable "*our*," and read the ſentence thus, diſcontent has kept pace with OUR improvement, that is, with the improvement in the ſituation of the Author and his co-partners, diſcord has grown up with OUR wealth, that is, with the riches of the Engliſh Clerks, conſpiracy and rebellion have ſhot up with OUR proſperity, that is, with the proſperity of the Secretary and a rapacious faction.

Conceiving contemptuous ſilence to be the beſt anſwer to his inſolence, and his own pamphlet the beſt reply to his ignorance, I do not purpoſe to waſte your time, or tire your

your patience by more comments on this Author, but ſhall apply his own obſervation onthe gentlemen of the Bar to himſelf and his work, that the very reaſons, which make the Secretary advocate an Union, are good motives for our rejecting it, and that the reaſons ſet forth in his book to induce the Iriſh to embrace the Union, are concluſive arguments againſt the meaſure, for which aſſertion I appeal to the work itſelf; in aid therefore of his arguments I ſhall ſubmit a few conſiderations to prove how little ſhort of madneſs it would be in all ranks and degrees of Iriſhmen to conſent to a ſurrender of Iriſh independence, which, *ſuch as it is*, may peradventure preſently be exerted to the advantage of the country, in doing which I ſhall not follow the example of the Engliſh Secretary, and preſume to inſult your underſtandings by flattery, nor your ſpirit by exciting alarm: to your uninfluenced good ſenſe alone I appeal for the counter-action of this ruinous project.

The greateſt grievance Ireland labours under is the abſentees: without much ſagacity we may venture to foretell that not one of that claſs before will take up his reſidence in Ireland after the Union, and that in addition

dition to the Lords and Commons attending Parliament, great numbers of ſtragglers will emigrate to England, and as every emigrant would render the ſociety of Ireland more and more diſagreeable to thoſe remaining, we may fairly conclude that none who could bear the expence of living in England, would ſtay behind, add to this liſt, all who ſought advancement or pleaſure, eſpecially the pampered and highly paid clergy (there being no men of more faſhion, or who delight to baſk more in the ſunſhine of a court) would take wing to London, on two inducements, as being the fountain from which preferment would flow, and the place of all others where they could ſpend with moſt comfort and luxury, the fruits of poor deſerted Ireland's toil and labour. The drain of abſentees being always open, it requires no great ſkill in political economy, to conjecture how it muſt fare with a country, labouring under ſuch a weight; a weight more than ſufficient to counterbalance any advantage derived from commercial regulations, were ſuch in the contemplation of the projectors, which truſt me will never be the caſe, unleſs, you pay more than they are worth for them by additional taxes.

It

It may be objected, that in a national point of view, the abſence of ſuch men, as I have deſcribed, would be attended rather with advantage to a ſtate. I allow their room would be preferable to their company, as men in as much as we ſhould get rid of ſo many debauchers of the morals and ſcoffers at the firſt ſymptoms of public ſpirit in our youth. But when it is recollected that theſe drones carry off, and annually exhauſt the honey of the laborious Iriſh bee, and that they will be replaced by other drones called ſoldiers, as debauched and more vulgar, the objection vaniſhes like a ſhadow, whilſt the evil ſtands confeſſed.

Commercial aggrandizement in general terms is ſuppoſed to be the conſequence of of an Union. Is any Iriſhman ſo abſurd as to imagine that (if ſuch really was the caſe) taxation and improvement would not go hand in hand. If any man aſk himſelf, why Ireland ſhould not enjoy the benefit of her ſituation, as well without, as with an Union —the commercial jealouſy, and the governmental apprehenſion of England are the anſwer; how the Union which holds out no advantage to the commercial intereſt of England, will remove the jealouſy, I am at a loſs

to

to conceive; and as by the incorporation, Ireland is flattered with the hope of becoming more powerful, the difficulty of ſubjugation, more particularly in the abſence of ſo many men of influence, would be conſiderably encreaſed, *but the number of additional Engliſh forces poured into Ireland, will correct that inconvenience*, and laſtly; let us ſuppoſe that all the arrangements touching the Union were agreed upon, and the ſurrender ſigned in due form, how, or by what means is Ireland to enforce the obedience to, or puniſh an infraction of the treaty.

As every one knows, that the people of Ulſter, are not to be diverted by the argument, of protection and ſecurity for their Linen trade, convinced as they are, that it never was *permitted* by their Engliſh ſtepdame for their advantage, and as the ſtationary ſituation of that trade is the only boon tendered to that province, we muſt be excuſed from inſulting the underſtanding of men, for whom we have an unfeigned reſpect, and a ſincere affection, by offering any thing by the way of anſwer to ſo ridiculous a propoſition.

As Leinſter is promiſed more *leiſure* for the Merchants, Court, Revenue, Army, and Manufacturers,

Manufacturers, to cultivate the arts, ſciences and *amuſements*, the propoſal ſpeaks for itſelf, and cannot fail to meet with a ready and cheerful acqieſcence from *ſuch ſtupid, ignorant dolts as the citizens of Dublin, and the men of Leinſter.*

In Munſter a vulgar idea has been conceived in ignorance, and ſtrengthened by prejudice, that an Union with England would be highly beneficial to the intereſt of the South; this error has been founded upon the illiberal notion that it would ruin Dublin, and therefore muſt ſerve Cork. That Dublin would be ruined is certain, how Munſter was to be advanced was always a ſecret till now, that it ſeems the building a dock-yard at Cork is not only to raiſe that city, but the whole Southern province, in a twinkling, into opulence. A few Engliſh agents may be ſerved, but that the dock-yard will work theſe miracles, I have not faith to believe. The county of Cork, the moſt extenſive in Ireland, containing the greateſt number of good harbours of any diſtrict of double its line of coaſt, and the beſt organized diſtrict, as to political monopoly, in the univerſe, may ſeem to approve of the meaſure of an Union if one or two governmental leaders order a certain deſcription of men amongſt them to do ſo; but as theſe are only as a drop of water compared with the ocean, to the

people, adverſe to the meaſure, ſhould this buſineſs come to dragooning*, which is not at all improbable, *the reſolution* of the addreſſers will avail but little. The people of the county of Cork, (from the very circumſtance of the uſeleſſneſs hitherto of their commanding ſituation for trade, by means of the tyranny of England) have the beſt practical reaſon of any part of Ireland, for putting no truſt or confidence in the profeſſions of Britain—they well know their advantage never was, and they were convinced before they heard of the dock-yard, it never will be conſidered—they know, that not their intereſt, but the inclination of the mercantile intereſt of England will be conſulted. That this *mighty* ſcheme of the dock-yard would be of the leaſt ſervice, even to Cork and its immediate neighbourhood remains to be proved†. How it will ſerve Limerick, Waterford, Youghall,

* It is probable that recourſe will he had to the bayonet—It is acknowledged by the Author of "Verbum Sapienti," (the ſame Caſtle Clerſt to whoſe work I have heretofore appealed) that the only obſtacle to making uſe of force to cram this cake down our throats, is leaſt "it may be ill-reliſhed by England:" beſide, why the neceſſity of pouring foreign troops into Ireland at this juncture, but on the emergency of force. We have had intelligence of a Secret Expedition being planned in England—Where to think you?—What for think you?—The Author of Coercion has declared within theſe ten days, that 40,000 Engliſh ſoldiers ſhould be in Dublin at the time of agitating the queſtion of the Union.

† Cork is at at preſent a great commercial city—was a dock-yard *really* to be built there, if we may be allowed to judge of the future by the experience of the paſt, we may venture to affirm, from the examples

Clonmell, Kinſale, Bandon, Carrick, &c. &c. we have not been informed, and it baffles all conjecture. On theſe conſiderations, I aſk the people of Munſter, if they are ſatisfied to have every chance of future aggrandizement left to the charity of five hundred and thirteen Engliſhmen, forty-five Scotchmen, one hundred of the moſt corrupt of the Iriſh nation; but whoſe will, for their benefit, ſuppoſing them otherwiſe, would avail nothing; and though laſt not leaſt, the charity of the Engliſh cabinet, by which Ireland has been invariably inſulted, and impoveriſhed, and which muſt humour in future, as heretofore, the paſſions, prejudices, and illiberality of the mercantile intereſt of Britain.

As for Connaught, it has not entered into the contemplation of the projectors.

The gentlemen of the Bar have anſwered for themſelves: and as it is not my intention to harrow up ſectarian feuds and diſtinctions, I ſhall be ſilent on that head.

Having now ſaid ſo much, and proved, I truſt, that commercial regulations for the benefit of Ireland, form no part of the intended plan, I ſhall endavour to account

of Portſmouth, and Plymouth, that commerce would ſoon deſert that port as long as the expedient is to be ſorted to of impreſſing ſeamen to man the Britiſh Navy. A Naval ſtation muſt prevent merchantmen from entering its precincts. It will operate to frighten away the commerce now poſſeſſed by Cork, inſtead of inviting an increaſe.

for the project in another, and I think the true way. When the preſent condition of the empire, the peculiarly critical ſituation of Ireland, the tremendous war in which England is engaged, are conſidered, one is naturally led to think, that an extraordinary time has been choſen for effecting a deſign, which ſhould more properly be the work of peace, harmony, mutual truſt and confidence—thoſe who at ſuch a time as the preſent, could ever provoke a diſcuſſion of the ſubject, muſt conceive that an incorporate Union of the two Legiſlatures of the two countries would work like magic, and in a a taliſmanic manner, heal all our differences and animoſities, and ſcatter content and plenty over a gloomy and impoveriſhed land, but I ſhall ſhow you that the time has been made ſo horrible as it is in Ireland to accord with the horrid deed, Pitt has made the time, Pitt has planned the deed, and will not "take the preſent horror from the time that now ſuits with it;" mankind have different modes of working the ſame ends, Pitt's manner of working an Union is to be found in the annals of the Iriſh Parliament ſince the *queſtion of the Regency*, wherein the acts committed by *his management* at, and ſince that period, are recorded.

In the year 1793, the proprietors of the Iriſh repreſentation, having conceived puny

hopes, of being able longer to uſurp a power incompatible with the intereſt of the people, had it ſeriouſly in contemplation, to yield a moderate reform, to the temperate wiſhes of the nation: accordingly we find a committee was appointed to take the meaſure into conſideration. About this time happened the defection of Dumourier, which cauſed ſo great an alteration, in the diſpoſition of the Iriſh Commons, as to induce them to change their plan, and hold faſt their power, committee after committee, to the number of ten or eleven, being appointed to examine the ſtate of the repreſentation, made no progreſs, and the Parliament was prorogued after having firſt paſſed the notorious convention-bill. The cup which was raiſed with no good grace, and held for a while in a tantalizing manner to the lips of the people, being daſhed to the ground in defiance, and with inſult, mutual jealouſy, and mutual diſguſt, between the people and Parliament unhappily took place. By the convention-bill, the meetings of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, which were heretofore public, henceforward became concealed, but with ſo much increaſed ardor, that the body of the Union ſoon ſwelled to an enormous ſize, in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion did ſanguinary acts of Parliament, and ille-

gal military and magiſterial outrages (which were regularly indemnified) follow each other, and ſo utterly did the people feel themſelves bereft of all hope, by free quarters and the burning of their houſes, that no longer able to endure the weight of their accumulated burthens, ſuffering their paſſions to get the better of their prudence, they unfortunately broke out into acts of open inſurrection—to this height Pitt was enabled to bring matters, by a paſſage in the teſt of the United Iriſhmen, binding the members of that ſociety, "to perſevere in their endeavours, to procure a full, equal, and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland," which, militating ſo directly againſt the borough owners, determined them, with the aid of the machinations of Pitt's Iriſh coadjutor, the Author of Coercion, to reſiſt every meaſure tending to conciliation. The inſurrection being the unequivocal proof of cordial hatred, kindled and fanned into a flame by Pitt and his accomplice, between the people and the Parliament, was deemed the moſt proper time for propoſing this ſcheme of the Union, the proprietors of the repreſentation were told, and felt the full force of the intelligence, that they muſt exterminate or reform; the former being tried and found an unprofit-

able game, and the latter being deemed not only inexpedient but inadmiſſable, in as much as they were given to underſtand, by one good-natured friend or another, who dreaded a conciliation between the people and the Parliament, that any conceſſion would be conſidered by the former to proceed rather from the fear than the juſtice of the latter, an incorporate Union is therefore to be reſorted to as a means of putting demand out of the reach of the people, and conceſſion or rejection out of the power of the Parliament.

This is the real ſtate of the caſe—on this baſis and this only, does the Union ſtand—I conjure the Parliament to conſider well, before they ſurrender, (without the poſſibility of recal) even their nominal independence, which may become efficient whenever they think proper to exert it, and let not that Belial, that apoſtate Pitt, who never ſpoke but to deceive, nor ſmiled but to betray, ſucceed to our undoing, though parties have riſen to ſuch an alarming height in Ireland, good humour and harmony may ſpeedily take place of diſcontent and diſcord—ſome plan of moderate reform, agreeably to the wiſhes of all parties, may be adopted——

" Better bear thoſe ills we have,
" Than fly to others we know not of."

There are two kinds of revolution, calm and tempeſtuous; of the former we may entertain a reaſonable hope, by *avoiding* the inſidious ſnares of Pitt; to prevent the latter, which is inevitable, ſhould the conſumation of the intended Union take place, I now raiſe my warning voice—

Countrymen, the Engliſh miniſter has unhappily but too well ſucceeded in drawing your attention from the Parliament, by which he hoped you would be glad to get rid of them on any terms. Should the preſent ſyſtem of barefaced venality and corruption continue, it ſignifies but little whether the Union does or does not take-place, in the conviction that it muſt ſhortly ceaſe—I deprecate the meaſure.

Let me then invite all orders, ranks, degrees, and parties, to lay aſide all ſenſeleſs, ſtupid feuds, and animoſities, to ceaſe to cut one another's throats, to the unſpeakable delight of our ſtep-mother, to diſcomfit Pitt and his projects, to uphold our metropolis, to prevent our provinces from being deſolated by Baſhaws, tythe-gatherers, and tax-gatherers—and poor Ireland from becoming a military ſtation for Engliſh ſoldiers.

THE END.